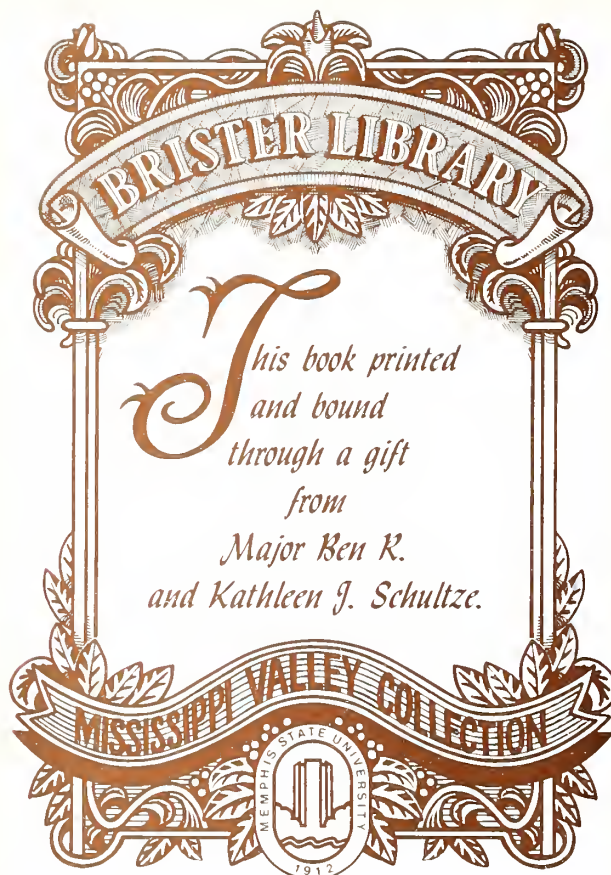


AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE WINFIELD DUNN ADMINISTRATION
INTERVIEWS WITH
ROBERT J. KABEL

BY - CHARLES W. CRAWFORD
TRANSCRIBER - BETTY WILLIAMS
ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE
MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY



2521 74204 OHT 4/7/92



**MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY
LIBRARIES**

MVC
JK
5252
1976
K32

UNIVERSITY OF MEMPHIS LIBRARIES



3 2109 00699 0205



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2013

<http://archive.org/details/oralhistoryo00craw>

AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE WINFIELD DUNN ADMINISTRATION

INTERVIEWS WITH ROBERT J. KABEL

MAY 17, 1976

BY CHARLES W. CRAWFORD

TRANSCRIBER - BETTY WILLIAMS

ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE

MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY

MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY
ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE

I hereby release all right, title, or interest in and to all of my tape-recorded memoirs to the Mississippi Valley Archives of the John Willard Brister Library of Memphis State University and declare that they may be used without any restriction whatsoever and may be copyrighted and published by the said Archives, which also may assign said copyright and publication rights to serious research scholars.

PLACE

Washington, D.C.

DATE

May 17, 1976.

Robert J. Kaln
(Interviewee)

Charles W. Crawford
(For the Mississippi Valley Archives
of the John Willard Brister Library
of Memphis State University)

THIS IS THE ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE OF MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY.
THE PROJECT IS "AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE WINFIELD DUNN ADMINISTRATION."
THE INTERVIEW IS WITH MR. ROBERT J. KABEL. THE PLACE IS WASHINGTON,
D.C. THE DATE IS MAY 17, 1976. THE INTERVIEW IS BY DR. CHARLES W.
CRAWFORD, DIRECTOR OF THE MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH
OFFICE. TRANSCRIBED BY BETTY WILLIAMS. INTERVIEW # 1.

DR. CRAWFORD: Mr. Kabel, let's start with some bio-
graphical information so that will be
available on the interview. Would you give a summary of your life and
experience up until you encountered the Winfield Dunn Administration.

MR. KABEL: Certainly, I was born on November 30,
1946, in Burbank, California. My par-
ents immediately moved from California to Cincinnati, Ohio, where I went
through high school and graduated from high school there in 1965, grad-
uated from Dennison University in Granville, Ohio in 1969, and then be-
gan law school at Vanderbilt in Nashville, which of course is the rea-
son I first came to Tennessee. I graduated from there in '72. I first
became acquainted with Governor Dunn when I was hired in the summer of
1971 as a law clerk to one of his assistants in the capitol.

DR. CRAWFORD: Who was the assistant?

MR. KABEL: W. Dale Young who at that time was a
staff assistant and later became the
Governor's Executive Assistant.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Why were you hired for this position?

Would you tell a little more about your experience at Vanderbilt and your record in law school.

MR. KABEL:

Yes, I had just finished my second year

at Vanderbilt. Governor Dunn had taken office in January of 1971. Right thereafter his executive assistant, who at the time was Frank Barnett, notified the law school that the Dunn Administration was interested in hiring some law clerks to do a variety of types of work in the administration.

There were two or three people interviewed and hired in the summer--not immediately but at the beginning of the summer--to replace one of those law students who would be leaving for the summer. My responsibilities were to make preliminary investigation on legislation that the administration might be interested in. I suppose I spent a great deal of my time, particularly towards the end of that summer, in interviewing prisoners at various penal institutions for executive clemency purposes. Governor Dunn had when he first took office a new procedure for executive clemency. It was a three-step process. One was to interview any prisoner who had been in a penal institution for, I believe at the time it was six months or a 1 year period. They were entitled to an interview regardless of the nature of the crime they had committed. It simply didn't matter. The Governor felt that he had the power to implement whatever clemency program he wanted. This was basically a screening process. The people who were interviewed would determine whether there was anything

unique about their particular case. If so, they were simply referred to the Clemency Board which would then meet with the individual prisoner and make a positive recommendation or negative recommendation to the governor for his final determination.

I continued through my third year at Vanderbilt working 20 to 30 hours a week doing basically the same thing as I was in the summer. But then in the summer I was asked to join the Policy Planning Staff which was headed by Leonard Bradley. The purpose of that being so that I could assist in drafting administration legislation following other pieces of legislation that had been introduced in the General Assembly. I continued in that position through the legislative session of 1972.

As I mentioned, I graduated in 1972 from Vanderbilt. I had been offered a position with the Dunn administration on a full-time basis as-- the title of the position was Federal Legislative Coordinator--what it was, I was to work in the Governor's Office of Urban and Federal Affairs and act as a liaison with Congress and particularly the Tennessee congressional delegation, both Senate and House members. I was in that position for about a year and 3 months. That gave me an opportunity to become acquainted with both the senators and congressmen and their staffs and I feel we have a very active program. I was the first person to hold that position. In the year or so that I held it, I believe Governor Dunn had one of the more active liaisons with the Congress of perhaps any governor.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Were you in Washington very much during

that time?

MR. KABEL: I made several trips to Washington. We were particularly active the first summer that I was in this position working on the General Revenue Sharing Bill. We were especially concerned because of the bill was first passed by the House and the formula used by the House would have granted most of the money to the very large industrial states. We worked very diligently with Senator Baker's office and other members of the Senate as well as the Council of State Governments and the National Governor's Association in helping to develop another formula. Another formula was adopted therefore, Tennessee and other states like it received a higher percentage of the money than they would have if we had not participated.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were you generally pleased with the formula that was adopted?

MR. KABEL: Yes, the result was that the Senate had its formula and the House had its formula and each state could choose whichever was to its benefit. So that kind of a compromise is hard to fault actually.

DR. CRAWFORD: In regard to the executive clemency, what change did Governor Dunn's programs make from the previous situation?

MR. KABEL: Tennessee as I believe and in a number of states there has always been for a number of years allegations and insinuations that executive clemency is not always handled on a straight forward and above-board basis. This is not to

say that Governor Dunn or any member of his administration believed that the previous Tennessee state administrations had in fact done anything that was not entirely above-board and legal, but throughout the penal community and throughout Tennessee in general there was the feeling that unless an individual either had financial power, political power that he was not going to be granted executive clemency. The Governor felt that was most unfortunate. Therefore, he felt the only way to really rid the corrections system and the executive clemency process of these overtones was to open it up to everyone--to give every prisoner who had been there a minimal amount of time in a penal institution an opportunity to be interviewed by a person on the Governor's personal staff.

DR. CRAWFORD: You mean there had been rumors before this
 time of political connections or financial
contributions involved in securing pardons?

MR. KABEL: Oh yes, of course, none of these have been proven. There were always those allegations. I think one of the real pluses of the process which Governor Dunn instituted was the fact, and I believe this has been verified by people in the corrections administration of Tennessee, that the prisoners appreciated it. They realized that, in fact, they did have a chance that here was a member of the Governor's personal staff spending his time coming out and talking with him individually as individuals along with their counselors and that they could say whatever they wanted. They could present their case personally. They did not need to have an attorney--no attorneys were ever present that I was aware of except perhaps when it got to the point of an individual appearing before the actual Clemency Board.

It was very good for morale because people felt that they, in fact, did have an opportunity. The others on the staff who also participated in the program were very straightforward with them. We made it clear to them that their chances of clemency were very slim but we were there to listen to them and if in fact there was any merit to their case, we would make certain that the Clemency Board reviewed it carefully.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you remember the approximate prison population in Tennessee at this time?

MR. KABEL: As I recall of the main prisons--now the main prison population was somewhere in the neighborhood of 2,000. It was built years and years ago--the main prison--to house about half of that. It is very overcrowded--there's no question about that.

There were lots of men in there, of course, we also interviewed women. Women had a very nice facility that was not overcrowded. There are several other penal institutions in Tennessee one of which was Brushy Mountain--the one that was closed by Governor Dunn due to a very unfortunate labor situation that developed there where the prison guards temporarily didn't show up to work--and Brushy Mountain was the top security prison. As a result all those men were transferred to the main prison which caused some further problems. It was very overcrowded.

There were a number of people in the prison system who had been there for years and years and it was serving no purpose having them there--to them or to society. A number of those people were released on very

strict conditions. I might add that the recidivism rate of those individuals who were granted clemency the last figure which I saw toward the end of the Dunn administration was less than 3%.

DR. CRAWFORD: Less than 3%?

MR. KABLE: Three percent, which in my view is an outstanding record.

DR. CRAWFORD: You did keep careful records I gather?

MR. KABLE: Oh yes, every person who was granted clemency--in effect it was conditional.

There were very few pardons granted. Most of them were in the form of time tests, which permitted the person to be released on parole. They were very carefully watched by the parole officers. And in fact, on occasions some of them were picked up, but as I said the recidivism rate was quite low and I would be surprised if the end result was any higher than 3%. So it was a program that worked and it was a program that was implemented simply because the Governor decided that was what was needed to do done.

DR. CRAWFORD: This was objectively administered, as I understand it. You interviewed all the prisoners that were in a certain category and a certain period of time served?

MR. KABLE: Yes.

DR. CRAWFORD: How many people were involved in the interviewing?

MR. KABLE: Well, when I first started there were three people who were doing interviewing--Dale Young, who was a staff assistant, Mack McDonald, who was a classmate of

mine at Vanderbilt and who also was a law clerk in the Governor's office and myself. The three of us would generally spend the day for some several months interviewing at the main prison or traveling by plane to one of the other prisons interviewing. We did not interview them all together necessarily. At times depending on the load of interviewees, we would meet in separate rooms. We would always try to have a counselor present. Counselors were very valuable. One counselor I worked with at that time most was Charles Troughber who is now a member of the Board of Pardons and Paroles.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were you generally pleased with the cooperation from prison officials?

MR. KABEL: Oh yes, we never had any problem with any prison official. They were always prompt in having the prisoners there. We never had any problem with any of the prisoners. They were generally very respectful. A number of them were very, very nervous. We tried our best to calm them down and also not to give them a tremendous amount of false hope. We felt that doing that would have worked to the detriment of the program.

DR. CRAWFORD: About how long did you spend with each person in the interviews on the average?

MR. KABEL: I'd say fifteen minutes or twenty minutes.

DR. CRAWFORD: What did you look for?

MR. KABEL: Well, we had access to their files. It was general procedure to review an individual prisoner's file prior to actually interviewing him. The file

contained a number of things: Social background of the individual, any criminal record that he had had, the criminal's version of the crime for which he was serving time, the official account and any appeals that might have been and that type of thing.

We would ask him to say whatever he wanted to, if he wanted to tell us about what happened we were willing to listen to that, if he wanted to tell us about his family situation, which was true in most of the cases. Most of them had very very severe family problems. A number of them were on welfare. A number of them were in the midst of divorce proceedings. Many of them had many substantial personal problems and that often weighed heavily in whether or not an individual was referred to the Board of Pardon and Paroles. The counselors were helpful in letting us know whether the person was being truthful with us because they had worked with them before and they knew a great deal about their background in the prison system.

We also looked at the write-ups that a prisoner might have. In the penal system in Tennessee if an individual prisoner steps out of line of the known rules, then he would receive what they call a write-up and if an individual had many write-ups he generally wasn't considered because it was thought that if in such a structured environment he could not handle himself without getting into trouble, it would be most difficult for him to do so out in society which is not quite as structured.

DR. CRAWFORD:

What do you think the benefits of the program were to the state?

MR. KABEL:

Well, I think that probably, and I think

the recidivism rate has borne this out, there were a lot of people in the prison system who really didn't need to be there. They'd either been there long enough to have been rehabilitated or they had substantial problems that only they could handle on the outside with their families and so forth. I think the program in the first place saved the Tennessee taxpayers a lot of money. It's very expensive to keep a person in prison. It's expensive to keep a person in any publicly supported institution whether it be a mental hospital or a prison or whatever. So I think in the first place it saved the taxpayers quite a bit of money. I think it was very good, as I mentioned earlier.

I think the program itself was very helpful to the morale of the prisoner where people knew that the Governor was personally interested in their well-being and that he was sending his staff out there to interview them and that they in fact had an opportunity for clemency whereas in the past when an individual received clemency there was often a presumption that he had political and financial influence. So I think really those two and I might add a third feature.

When Governor Dunn took office, the Board of Pardon and Paroles was a part-time appointed gubernatorial appointment. There were some very good people on there, they were not professionals, they were not meeting full-time and I might add, despite the fact that they were good people, they were not always objective because I sat in on some of their meetings. For example, a person in most instances was very carefully questioned about his religious background, and if an individual did not

confess to being a good Christian and the fact that he was going to lead a good life, most likely there were a couple of members of the Board who simply wouldn't agree to clemency. And I personally feel that that is wrong. It is not to reflect upon any feelings that I have toward religion, but the point is that they were not professional people and were not looking at it completely objectively.

As a result of the experience that we had as members of the Governor's staff, I believe and in working with this part-time Board of Pardons and Paroles the legislation was proposed and adopted for a permanent three-member professional Board of Pardons and Paroles which is operated--as long as I worked with them--on a very professional basis. They really knew what they were doing and they did their job well.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you know anything about the relative cost of keeping a person in prison in Tennessee and in maintaining on the other hand the parole officers' support when he is outside?

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, there's a substantial difference that is quite expensive. I did know at one time the figures. It is something in the neighborhood of \$7,000 a year to maintain a prisoner in prison. I'd say it was even higher than that--somewhere between \$7,000 to 10,000 a year to maintain an individual. A parole officer can handle a number of cases. But not only is there the expense of maintaining an individual in prison, but a vast majority of these people that have families, their families are on welfare. That also is a cost to the state.

DR. CRAWFORD: As part of this program, did anyone undertake a survey as to the reduction of the welfare cases in the state as a result of prisoners getting out and going back to work?

MR. KABEL: No, not to my knowledge.

DR. CRAWFORD: That would be a benefit of the program.

MR. KABEL: It very well could have been. I would assume that a number of those people through the programs that were offered by the Department of Corrections to assist them in locating jobs and having training and so forth and the fact that they were not back in prison within the Dunn administration, these people were finding themselves capable of dealing with society and earning an honest living and so forth and probably were supporting themselves. That's just assumption that I make, but it would be interesting to try to find a correlation between the two.

DR. CRAWFORD: If it would be reasonable. Probably the only question would be the amount of success in this and not whether the people released did go to work and remove their families from the welfare roles, but simply how many.

In regard to the policy planning staff, can you give a few more details about the work there?

MR. KABEL: Right. Governor Dunn in his first year in 1971 during the first legislative session. These are observations from someone who is an outsider because I didn't have much first-hand knowledge that first session. He offered some pieces of legislation and had quite a good record of having these

proposals adopted. It was clear however, that he had not developed the proper staff capability to really put forth a good administrative package and also to follow the many other bills that were introduced. As a result he asked Leonard Bradley, who had been Director of the Office of Urban and Federal Affairs, to put together what was referred to as the Policy Planning Staff. I think structurally in the Governor's office Leonard Bradley was in charge of the office. He was Director of the office and he was directly responsible to Lee Smith, the Governor's counsel who then was directly responsible to the Governor. I don't mean to make it sound that formal a structure because it wasn't. All the member of the Governor's staff met with the Governor on occasion. We were all given credit for whatever work we had done so and so forth.

We were assigned different areas of responsibility. I was responsible for working with the Department of Transportation--at that time it was the Highway Department. That was the year the administration proposed and had adopted the Department of Transportation and I worked on that piece of legislation.

I worked on some drug abuse legislation with the Department of Mental Health and Public Health and I also worked with the Department of Corrections in their legislative efforts. There were a number of other pieces of legislation they were interested in which were adopted.

DR. CRAWFORD:

How did you go about drawing up legislation? Where did you start? How did

you proceed?

MR. KABEL:

Well, you have to work very carefully with

people in the departments. Each of the departments had at least an attorney who was familiar with the state legislative process. In most instances they would send us a bill. The Governor had made it clear in advance what he was interested in through another process that developed over a period of years. The Commissioners would return to their departments and have legislation drafted in most instances. Then they would present a bill to us. Most likely it would have to be very carefully reviewed and often completely redrawn and there was also some coordination between members of the legislative branch. There were a number for example, in the Department of Transportation Bill. There were a number of the members of the General ASsembly who were very much interested in that bill [and it was] our responsibility as the Policy Planning Staff to coordinate with those individuals to the greatest extent possible to work out any problems and any conflict that might exist and to have introduced a bill that was as trouble-free as possible. That always, of course, didn't occur. Governor Dunn was the first governor to have such a substantial staff. There were 7 or 8 people on the staff--professional staff people. As a result he presented a very well thought out, carefully drafted legislative package. It had a very high percentage of passage. That year, I believe, it was somewhere near 90%.

DR. CRAWFORD: Which legislative year was that now?

MR. KABEL: This was 1972.

DR. CRAWFORD: That was an improvement for the first year?

MR. KABEL: That was an improvement from the first year. Seventy-one[percent] was his first year in office. There was not much time between the election and when the General Assembly met to really prepare a very careful legislative package.

DR. CARWFORD: Did you check with opposition leaders as well--among the Democrats?

MR. KABEL: Well, we did, but that was really not part of the function of the Policy Planning staff. Lee Smith and the Governor himself and Leonard Bradley--the three of them generally did that themselves. There were legislative leadership meetings occasionally in advance of the General Assembly but when the General Assembly was in session, the legislative leadership had meetings with the Governor several times a week in the morning both with the minority and with the majority leaders. Of course, you must remember that the Governor was of the opposition party. Neither the House or the Senate was controlled by the Republicans during his administration.

DR. CRAWFORD: When amendments were required in dealing with the legislative branch, did you have anything to do with that or was that handled by . . . ?

MR. KABEL: No, most often it was handled through our office. We would receive a call from the capitol generally from Lee Smith or Leonard [who], of course, was working closely with the Governor and Lee and legislative leadership and when an amendment needed to be drafted, generally the Policy Planning staff would

do it. At that time the General Assembly committees did not have much staff capability. Most of them had no staff capability. So the bulk of the staff was in the Governor's office or in the Legislative Counsel's office.

DR. CRAWFORD: I'm sure since you started as the new task force you must have not started out perfectly. What changes did you make in Policy Planning as you went along?

MR. KABEL: Well, you're right. Most of us were very new to the legislative process. There were some people on the staff who certainly had more political experience and understanding of politics at the state level which was vital to putting together a good legislative package--one that is both sound from a policy point of view but also one that is going to pass. So we had some people there who understood the politics fairly well. There was shifting around within the office from time to time depending on who worked better with what group and what committees and that type of thing.

Now, since when I left the Policy Planning staff, it was a permanent feature of the Governor's office and in between legislative sessions, they were responsible for implementing certain objectives that the Governor had. Also for the beginning study of legislative issues that either had not been adopted that session or new ones that had arisen. I think that they were probably better prepared the next two sessions to handle the responsibility.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you do any general long-range planning about legislation needed in the state or did you respond to requests from departments mainly?

MR. KABEL: The process as it developed in the fall-- I'm not certain about the fall of '71-- but in the fall of '72 and in the fall of '73 and even in '74 right before the Governor left he would hold a series of meetings with the various commissioners and they would present to him--there were two types of meetings--one was budget, when he was trying to put the budget together which I was never closely involved with, and the other type of meeting-- and sometimes it would coincide--depending upon the department work--[with] a legislative program that the department was interested in the administration sponsoring. They would submit ideas for bills and often bills themselves to be reviewed by the Governor's staff, meaning the Policy Planning staff. At times, the Governor would offer his own suggestions, and the commissioners would have those pieces of legislation drafted.

So there was very careful coordination between the Governor and his commissioners. He worked very closely with virtually all of them. There were certainly no surprises coming out of the department by the time we got to the legislative session. Things had been coordinated through the Policy Planning staff and through the Governor himself to the point where everyone pretty much knew which direction we were going in and what was going to be offered and what would pry any pieces of legislation and so forth.

DR. CRAWFORD: When did you leave Policy Planning?

MR. KABEL: I left there as soon as I graduated in June of '72 and I went to one of the

other staff offices--the Office of Urban and Federal Affairs which I mentioned earlier--to become what in effect was the Governor's liaison with the Congressional delegation.

DR.CRAWFORD: How long were you there now?

MR. KABEL: Well, I was there starting in June and was there through July of '73, but I was gone for a three-month period. I had an obligation to the army and I was stationed at Ft. Eustace, Virginia at the Transportation Officer's Transportation School from December, '72, through February, '73, and then I returned to the Office of Urban and Federal Affairs.

DR. CRAWFORD: What were your major accomplishments while in the Office of Urban and Federal Affairs?

MR. KABEL: Well, I think perhaps the single finest accomplishment was finally we had coordinated the various interests of state government towards legislation and so forth occurring in Washington. We coordinated that so that there was a single voice through the Governor's office both with our own delegation and with the rest of Congress depending on the issue. It was made clear through the Governor's office that any correspondence to the Congress was to go through the Office of Urban and Federal Affairs. That was true except in one or two instances where commissioners were close personal friends of either senators or congressmen and they spoke directly with those senators or congressmen and there wasn't a thing I could do about that. Obviously, they were going to be much more effective anyway than I was going to be since they knew these individuals on a personal basis.

I think we had a very active program. We received some assistance through the National Governor's Association. Governor Dunn testified several times before Congress. We were responsible for drafting that testimony before the Congress. I think it was helpful for him in his efforts in the National Governor's Association as a member of the Board to have a very active well-informed staff who were, as I said, knowledgeable about what was going on in Washington and affecting the states, particularly Tennessee.

To sum up, I think that we had coordinated the Governor's communication with Congress particularly the Tennessee delegation. It was very important. They would come to us after a period of time and find out what were the issues and how the Governor would want the delegation to vote on certain issues. We had tremendous cooperation both from the Republicans and the Democrats--very good cooperation.

DR. CRAWFORD: To what do you attribute that cooperation?

MR. KABEL: Well, I think in a number of instances, they wanted to know if an issue before the Congress was going to affect a state and state government, particularly that no one would probably know better than the Governor how. Now if it was a highly charged political issue it would be different. Issues that affect the state are not normally that politically charged. They really wanted to know and they wanted to be able to justify their votes to their constituents I think--their fellow Tennesseans. If they had information directly from the state government as to how this particular piece of legislation or this amendment on this bill was going to affect Tennessee, it really assisted them. I think it was as much benefit to them as it was

to us to have that knowledge from the bureaucracy. These positions were developed through the bureaucracy and went up through the Governor's office.

DR. CRAWFORD: There may be no simple answer to this, but
 do you know why this had never been done
before?

MR. KABEL: No, I really don't. I don't know why.

For a long time in Tennessee--now this didn't occur with Governor Dunn, didn't begin with Governor Dunn--but the Governor's office was very powerful--extremely powerful. What state legislation he generally wanted was adopted. The Legislature became more independent in the sixties during Governor Ellington's term, certainly perhaps before that, but as far as and therefore it was necessary for the Governor to be able to put together a staff which could deal effectively with an independent legislature. Now as far as federal legislation I really don't know. My guess is--this may not be accurate--but my guess is that there wasn't much communication in the first place. Most of the delegation was Democratic and the Governor was a Democrat. There was not that feeling of trying to bridge this so-called political barrier which we tried to do, and were very successful in doing, with the Democratic members of the delegation. Other than that, I just don't know. In the sixties, the federal government was very active in legislation. I am sure they needed input from the states. Whether they received it from Tennessee, I don't know. My guess is that they didn't except perhaps from the commissioners. It certainly was not a coordinated

DR. CRAWFORD: When did you leave the Office of Urban and Federal Affairs?

MR. KABEL: I left toward the end of July in '73.

There had been a change in the staff in the capitol. Dale Young had resigned to return to private law practice and he was at that time the Governor's executive assistant. There was a void there to be filled and the way the restructuring occurred was that Lee Smith who at the time had always been the Governor's Legal Counsel became both--both the Executive Assistant and the Legal Counsel. He asked me to move from Urban and Federal Affairs to the capitol to fulfill a variety of functions--to work directly with him and to work directly with the Governor. I was fortunate enough to be located in the office which was attached to the Governor's and I think that was necessary due to one of the functions that I had, and that was basically scheduling his working day and making certain that he pretty much kept to that schedule.

DR. CRAWFORD: Now, that was the work that you did from late summer of '73?

MR. KABEL: Yes, from about August of '73 to the end of the administration.

DR. CRAWFORD: The beginning of 1975?

MR. KABEL: Right. There were other functions too and legal problems that directly affected the Governor were more generally handled by me. Also there was a

third function. A variety of matters come to the attention of the Governor's office on a daily basis. I was one of the members of the staff that handled the different types of problems that come to the attention of the Governor's office.

THIS IS THE ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE OF MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY.
THE PROJECT IS "AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE WINFIELD DUNN ADMINISTRATION."
THE INTERVIEW IS WITH MR. ROBERT J. KABEL. THE PLACE IS WASHINGTON,
D. C. THE DATE IS MAY 17, 1976. THE INTERVIEW IS BY DR. CHARLES
W. CRAWFORD, DIRECTOR OF THE MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY ORAL HISTORY
RESEARCH OFFICE. TRANSCRIBED BY BETTY WILLIAMS. INTERVIEW # II.

DR. CRAWFORD: During the latter part of the Dunn Admin-
 istration you were very close to Gover-
nor Dunn, working with him on a daily basis and doing planning for his
daily activity. So I think it would be well in this interview to get
a view of the Governor's procedures and personality as a leader of
the state. Where do you wish to start?

MR. KABEL: Starting to talk on a more or less per-
 sonal basis about Governor Dunn, I think
is rather difficult. Perhaps I should say from the beginning so you
will know my perspective is, no matter where I have been, whether it
be in Tennessee or here in Washington, I have never met a man that I
respect more than I do Winfield Dunn. Without any question, it will
be one of the highlights of my career whatever direction it may go in
to have been as closely associated with him as I have.

DR. CRAWFORD: May I ask, then before we get further,
 since you have been associated with sev-
eral people of responsibility, why do you respect him? What are the
things that caused you to feel that way?

MR. KABLE: Well, he had a number of qualities that were just outstanding for any person to have. He was forthright and honest. He was quite an intelligent man. Always very very honest in dealing with people, but I think to me the single feature about his personality that I think made him a successful governor was the fact that he really had vision for the state and was capable of transmitting that and, if I may use the word, energizing, people in his administration and across the state of Tennessee believing the fact that there were things that they could do and that he could do as governor. He lent a tone to both the administration and to the state of--I never met a person who worked for him who wasn't completely dedicated to him. I know of my own personal friends who were not at all associated with him were continually astounded by the dedication that his staff and administration had. I know that sounds as though I am speaking in superlatives about him but I don't really think there is any other way to adequately describe him.

He was a man of real compassion. I could cite a few examples.

DR. CRAWFORD: Would you do so, please.

MR. KABEL: I think the best example I can think of was the compassion that he had for people. At the very end of his administration in late December of 1974, he had to decide what action, if any, he was going to take with the staff that worked in the Governor's mansion. By tradition the staff at the Governor's mansion was made up of principally men

who were in the penal institutions--the main prison. There were a number of them. I think there were 10 who at one time worked on a full-time basis at the Governor's mansion. He became very close to these people as did his family. These people were in prison for very very serious crimes. Most of the people who were chosen had been in the prison system for some time. Most of them were convicted murderers, but they were the type of murders that involved fits of passion--the type of situation that most likely would never have occurred again--but yet they had committed those crimes and they were serving their time for those crimes.

By tradition, the Governor normally, as they say, took his staff with him meaning that he granted them clemency. Governor Dunn had granted clemency to a lot of people, perhaps more than any other governor in Tennessee's history. He had some people at the mansion whom he very much wanted to grant clemency to, but on reviewing their records--and I assisted him in doing this. He had the Board of Pardons and Parole review every individual who was working at the mansion and make a recommendation to him. There were only a couple to whom he granted clemency, but he felt that it was his responsibility to sit down and talk with each one of them individually and tell them what he could and could not do for them.

We did this and it took an entire afternoon--one of the last days of his administration--I went with him to see Charley Charver,

who was chairman of the Board of Pardons and Paroles. The three of us went to the mansion and sat down in one of the parlors and they brought in each of the individual inmates who were working at the mansion.

DR. CRAWFORD: Approximately how many?

MR. KABEL: About 10. He took as long as--from about 15 minutes to a half hour with each one of them. It was a long, long afternoon. There were a lot of tears shed both by the inmates and by the Governor. He was very very close to most of them. There was unfortunately, the assumption on their part that he was going to grant them clemency. One of them had even gone to the trouble to have his wife on the outside buy a new car. He was one of them that he couldn't do anything for, because not only had he committed a terrible crime, but he only had been in the prison system for a short period of time--relatively short period of time. I really admired him for doing that. He did not have to do that. He could have escaped confronting them. He could have made certain that they never came back to the mansion, but it was just the type of man that he is that he felt an obligation to sit down and tell these men that he could not grant them clemency. They would not be released immediately but that they would still have some time to serve.

So I admired him greatly for doing that. I know very few people who would have gone through something like that.

In other areas since I worked with him so closely, and I sat in on a number of his appointments and scheduled most of his appointments, it was clear to me that he was a very open person. We kept a log of all the appointment requests and we tried to dispose of most of those that had been handled outside of the Governor's office through the rest of the administration. We tried to handle those in that manner, but he insisted on seeing people as much as he could though it would only be for a few minutes.

I can remember a number of people come in and say, "Governor, you have a reputation for being able to talk to people about their problems and convince them that you are concerned and really sincere and try to do something to help them if it is within your ability." And I think he really did do that.

I think the one single thing that a governor has to give and to expend on behalf of his constituents is his time. I like to think that we handled his time very well. I think it is important for a governor to speak to as many individuals as is possible regardless whether they have a particular problem to confront him with. That way it prevents him from being isolated in the capitol which is very easy to do--extremely easy. It keeps him in contact with the average person and he certainly did that on a frequent basis.

The Governor kept in very close contact with his commissioners and staff. I'll give you this type of run-down if I could of a typical day in the office. He spent--particularly in the fall and legislative session--he spent as much time as possible in the office. In the spring after the session was over and in the summer, he did a lot

of speaking and traveling on behalf of different groups. He was an early riser and was almost always the first one in the office.

DR. CRAWFORD: About what time did he get to the
 office?

MR. KABEL: He was almost always there by 8:00 and usually well before 8:00. He had tremendous stamina, more so than anyone on his staff. He could go for hours and hours and still be virtually fresh as he was in the morning. I think that he told me that the first year of his administration he allowed himself to deteriorate physically. He wasn't getting exercise and he wasn't eating properly and having a proper diet. Well, I think he really became tired of that and he realized that four years of that could do some permanent damage so he started principally playing tennis quite a bit. He played several times a week, kept himself in very good physical condition and proceeded to have a better balanced diet. Those are little things you might pick up if you work with a man as closely as I did.

Twice a week and more frequently if necessary we would have staff meetings at 8 o'clock in the morning. Staff meetings involved the members of the personal staff in the capitol and plus the Commissioner of Finance and Administration and occasionally one other commissioner. We would each have an opportunity to review issues that were active at the time. The Governor often would start if he had something on his mind that he wanted to discuss, he would raise it. Then normally the Executive Assistant and

Legal Counsel who at the time I was there, of course, Lee Smith, would proceed next and simply around the room to the rest of the staff. These staff meetings would last an hour or more depending on the complexity of the issues and so forth.

DR. CRAWFORD: Who handled the agenda at the meetings?

MR. KABEL: Lee basically would handle, being both Counsel and Executive Assistant he was responsible to the Governor for handling most of the weightier issues. He would always have a Press Secretary. I think in any administration or political offices [he] is vital. So the Governor's press secretary, Ralph Griffith, always was present and would often lend a different slant to things, and raise different issues that the rest of us simply weren't in contact with.

DR. CRAWFORD: How long did these staff meetings last?

MR. KABEL: I would say an hour. We would try to schedule them from 8 to 9 and then his other appointments would begin at 9.

He kept in very close contact with his commissioners. Frequently he would have them to his office for meetings. I was responsible to him for liaison with the commissioners if an issue were raised in the staff meeting or just at any time during the day or he needed to inquire or give some directions to a commissioner he would do that through me or some other member of the staff people. That seemed to fall in my area more than most.

I might say that one comment I would have about Governor Dunn

that might be taken somewhat as a negative comment. I felt in some instances that he relied and placed too much faith in some of his commissioners. I prefer not to go into specific individuals, but I felt that there were some people who were not serving him properly. It's not that they were not putting in their full effort, but I felt that policy-wise that they were not completely compatible with him and yet he never to my knowledge while I was there--he never asked anyone to leave. He never even suggested to them that they should leave.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you know if he felt that any people should leave?

MR. KABEL: I knew that he felt there were some people who were codling significant problems either in one instance through the lack of confidence and in another instance through a lack of compatibility in policy matters. I think he would--he never told me this--but I think he would, deep down, prefer that they left, but they didn't and he wouldn't ask them to. I think if he had been able to succeed himself and in fact been reelected, I think there would have been a shift in the cabinet to some extent. But I think that is a fault to the extent to never really seriously consider letting a member of the cabinet go.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did he find it difficult to make negative recommendations for people--such as leaving the cabinet? Apparently, with this discussion with

prisoners at the executive mansion, he was able to do that.

MR. KABEL: Oh I think so. Well, now he never had any problem telling one of the commissioners that he thought they were dead wrong about an issue, but he always gave them the opportunity to come up and argue with him about it. And many times he'd change his mind. Often he wouldn't and if a commissioner was astute enough and could understand--well, he didn't have to be very astute--the Governor was really not interested in pursuing a course of action or thought the commissioner was taking a wrong action in a certain area, he'd make sure they knew it. And there was no mistaking it when he was mad and you could tell it. There was no mistaking it. He had a temper. It didn't flare up very often, but when it did, you. . .

DR. CRAWFORD: At what sort of events did his temper flare up?

MR. KABEL: Mostly policy matters--actions the commissioners were taking that he didn't think were appropriate. If he ever ever felt that there was some conflict of interest within a department that anyone would bring to his attention, the fact that an employee of a department was doing something that they felt was inappropriate, he would immediately bring it to the attention of the Commissioner and expect an explanation. And if it looked as though an individual might in fact be doing something that was inappropriate, that would really touch him off. He would become quite angry if action wasn't immediately

taken to correct it. He would never put up with state employees doing something that was inappropriate or anything that could be viewed as a conflict of interest, much less be a conflict of interest. Very cautious and very careful to make certain that there was nothing in his administration that could be viewed as a conflict of interest.

I think he viewed his political life as a four-year, one-term governor. There were decisions that he made that if he had been, I think he fully realized the political consequences of most everything he did. He did not take actions out of ignorance. He fully understood what he was doing, but he said many times that he viewed himself as something like a civilian politician. Anyway he knew he was elected and could not succeed himself and elected for a four-year term and not to succeed himself and that he was going to do what he thought was right, not what was politically expedient. There were a number of issues that involved East Tennessee that were from a political standpoint probably faulty decisions. But he felt the action that he was taking was on behalf of the state as a whole and that he could not take any other action.

I think if he had been able to succeed himself, run for reelection, I really don't think those decisions would have been any different. Maybe slightly they may have been handled with a little more finesse in some instances. I really don't think the basic decisions would have been any different. So in other words, he handled himself, he made his decisions on the basis what was right for the state on a whole and not for what was right politically for Winfield Dunn.

DR. CRAWFORD:

I think some of the issues that gave him difficulty in East Tennessee indicate that very well. I'm sure any administrator has strengths and weaknesses. To be the devil's advocate about this, what weaknesses did you find in his methods of operation? In a moment I'll ask you about changes as time went on? Do you think of any on that side?

MR. KABEL:

Well, I think I have mentioned one. I think the fact that this is just a part perhaps of a broader sort of difficulty that I think faced him, and that they differed at times. He simply would not to my knowledge consider letting one of them go. But I think he had real difficulty as an administrator. I think he was at least when I was there, he had, I think, complete confidence in himself, but from second-hand reports that I had about those first few years of the administration he was uncertain of himself. He was a dentist who practiced dentistry until he was elected governor. He never administrated anything although he was the chairman of the Memphis/ Shelby County Republican Party. I'm not certain what type of an administrative responsibility that position carried with it. Certainly nothing of the magnitude of being governor of the state.

I think he had difficulty delegating responsibility. He would often assign someone a task and before they had an opportunity to complete it he would expect a status report or expect to know what was occurring on issues that really I don't think he should have been that concerned with details. Certainly there are a number of issues and a number of

instances and events that would occur which he would want to keep in contact with almost on an hourly basis because they were that important. But most issues are not that way. But I think he had difficulty. He at times had a difficult time remembering to whom he had assigned a certain task to be completed.

DR. CRAWFORD: Now that seems rather contradictory on one hand keeping up too much with details and on the other hand, forgetting. How do you explain that?

MR. KABEL: Well, I don't know if I can explain it except perhaps when he would assign something especially in a staff meeting where there were seven or eight people participating and he would be going around the room talking about different issues and he would say this, "Well, I think we ought to do this, about that issue." He said, "Bob, why don't you handle that." Well, sometimes he would forget. When he would assign something to me, because we worked so carefully--so closely together--he wouldn't forget what he asked me to do. But on other people he sometimes would. He would have to be reminded, but once he was reminded, it was nothing he forgot that he assigned responsibility, but it was to whom he assigned it. He was always often trying to keep up with the details of what was occurring.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, that was understandable, I suppose, considering the great number of responsibilities that came up that sometimes having delegated something the information who was handling it wouldn't be immediately accessible.

MR. KABEL:

Right.

DR. CRAWFORD:

What sort of things did you tend to keep up with in great detail?

MR. KABEL:

Well, I know during the legislative session by necessity kept up in detail with where pieces of legislation were. Now in a state the size of Tennessee and because of the relationship between the Legislature and the Governor I think it was necessary that he spend virtually all of his time on legislative matters. In fact, when the Legislature was in session his whole schedule was rearranged. He had early morning meetings with the leadership of the minority and majority as well as some members of his staff who were responsible for his legislative program. Any time a senator or a representative wanted to see him, he was available unless he was tied up with another senator or representative. He tried to be very, very accessible and I think generally was. Sometimes, I am sure some of the legislators didn't think he was. But then some of them didn't think anyone was accessible, frankly.

He was very seldom out of that office during that period of time. He was constantly being advised and he insisted on being kept abreast of day-to-day events in the Legislature--where things were headed, who was creating problems. If he could be of any help, he would call those people in and try to iron out and resolve any difficulties that they were having with a piece of legislation. So I think largely he was personally responsible for the success of his legislative package he

worked so carefully. They knew he was personally concerned.

Many of them commented even if we know he disagrees with us, at least we know where he stands. He never had any real problem finding out, I thought, where he stood on an issue. He very seldom waffled on it or skirted an issue--at times he did. But if he had a developed position, he knew what it was.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, some issues, I suppose, in the Legislature really didn't require a stand by the Governor.

MR. KABEL: No, there were a lot of small issues. They were of minor importance and there was no reason for him to become involved in.

As far as other issues that he wanted to be kept closely in touch with, I'll give you an example. Because one of the principal responsibilities of state government is the state highway system, a large number of his appointments had to do with problems with roads. We had delegations coming in from all over the state wanting to know when a particular project in their area was going to be completed and when it was going to be started and if it was going to be started. He would want to keep pretty close until it was a final decision--definitive decision--to this group that had come in to see him. He would try to keep very close tabs on all those and that is very difficult to do. It causes real problems for the Department of Transportation and it caused real problems for the

Commissioner of Transportation although he never complained. But I think that he felt the Governor was really becoming too carefully involved in very small matters that the department could have handled.

DR. CRAWFORD: Why did the Governor do that? Did he see any political problems that could possibly come up and that. . .?

MR. KABEL: I think so. I think he viewed a lot of those kind of problems as very much local political problems. A state highway system is a very complex matter. There are procedures that must be complied with if it is a state system--if it is strictly a state system, and even more you need to comply with if it is a federal system. Most people don't understand that. He was aware of the fact that most people don't understand the process that must be complied with in order to get a road underway. Or believe it or not even to get a traffic light installed at a shopping center entrance or exit.

To some local people those are big issues--if there has been an accident at an intersection and they think the state should get out there the next week and put up a traffic light. It's important to those people, I can understand that and he certainly understood that. So he understood the political consequences of being able to give these people a firm answer and try to help them if at all possible. I think that may be one reason why he did try to maintain such close contact with those kind of issues.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you have any estimate of how much of the Governor's time was spent with dealing with things he was trying to implement and how much had to be spent with problems that came up and could not be anticipated?

MR. KABEL: Well, that is hard to judge.

DR. CRAWFORD: Perhaps what I am asking is, did you have to spend a great deal of time dealing with things that couldn't be anticipated--with problems and objections that would come up rather than going ahead with some agreed-upon goal?

MR. KABEL: Well, I think there were frankly very few. If the Governor had an appointment, we knew. I'll answer your question in a couple of ways. When the Governor had an appointment, one of my responsibilities was to know what that person or group wanted to talk with him about. It wasn't always easy! There were a lot of people who just thought that when they got in, they tell him and they weren't about to tell anybody else. Eventually in 95% of the cases I would eventually find out what it was and if it was a problem they were having, I would find out from the department that would be responsible for whatever the matter was and what their position was or what it might have been. If it was a very serious problem then, we would have the Commissioner present at the meeting. So in other words, not a whole lot of surprises came out of a meeting with the Governor right then and there on the spot. We would normally know in advance what those problems were.

Now there were a lot of other types of problems that would arise completely outside of the Governor's appointment schedule. Those would be brought to his attention most of the time by his staff in the capitol or by some others on the Policy Planning staff or Office of Urban and Federal Affairs--the directors of those offices. He was accessible to them at any time. If they had a problem and they needed to see him about an emergency matter, they would be scheduled and wedged in somehow and we'd make certain they saw him.

I don't know if you could refer to these as fighting brush fires. I would say maybe 20% of his time was spent in those kind of situations. I think toward the end of the administration, things were organized to the point where the Governor's policies were being implemented and were taking a good part of his time in seeing that they were implemented. I think things, his own time and his schedule, his own staff were working very smoothly in the last couple of years of his administration.

I do not think that was probably the case the first couple of years. I think there was perhaps some confusion even among the staff itself as to who had responsibility for what issues and functions; but I really think toward the end of his administration he was spending most of his time doing his best to implement his program. I know the year and a half that I was with him--when I was interviewed by him for the job which he, of course, had to finally approve of my being hired, he said, "Bob, we have a lot to do between now and January of '75 and we are all

going to be working as hard as we can. We are not going to be letting up in the last few months and that I expect you to do the same." Of course, I fully agreed. That was true, we were working right up to the very end. He never let go. There were objectives that he wanted to reach such as building the regional correctional facilities that had to proceed right up to December and January of '75.

Dr. CRAWFORD; In scheduling his appointments, how did you decide how much time to give to them and how well did you do keeping things within the schedule that you had?

MR. KABEL: It's depending more on the issue that the individual wanted to discuss or if it was an appointment that the Governor was initiating such as with one of his commissioners. The issue itself would determine in my knowledge and background how much time was allowed. It was really a matter of judgment. After a period of scheduling, you could pretty much tell. And knowing his method of operation, how he handled individuals when he got them into his office, you could pretty much tell whether it should be fifteen minutes or thirty minutes or forty-five minutes or an hour. We tried generally to break his day down in fifteen-minute segments. Many of his appointments were for a half hour and many of them for only fifteen minutes. Occasionally, if somebody would come into the reception room and said they were an old friend from somewhere and if he wasn't busy they'd like to see him, he'd do that. That would take three or four or five minutes.

DR. CRAWFORD: Would he take them into his office or
 would he go out to meet them in the re-
ception room?

MR. KABEL: No, we always brought them into his
 office. He had a very very lovely of-
fice which had been refurbished in his administration. When he first be-
came governor, he had a very, very small office. You couldn't seat more
than four people including him. It was a very large conference room and
that within a year of his administration was converted into his personal
office so that he could hold large meetings with a number of people in
a very comfortable office. I might add that over the Governor's desk
was a portrait of Abraham Lincoln. This was the first time that Abra-
ham Lincoln had been hung in the Governor's office in many, many a year
I am sure. At the other end of the suite of offices was Andrew Jackson's
portrait which previously had been above the Governor's desk. The Lincoln
portrait had been commissioned right after his assassination. It's a
rather valuable portrait that belongs to the state, of course.

DR. CRAWFORD: How good was the Governor at getting his
 appointments concluded. Sometimes it is
very difficult to get people out on time.

MR. KABEL: Right. He was very, very good about that.
 We had a little procedure that we would
use. He had two buzzers under his desk. If for some reason he felt he
needed to move on, he very, very seldom used that. One was for security
measure which would buzz at the security officer's desk and I don't think,
except by accident, he ever used that. The other one rang at the appoint-

ment secretary's desk and it was simply a signal for her to come in and say, "Governor, your next appointment is here." He didn't use that very much, but Lucretia McDonald was the appointment secretary all while I was there. If she felt he was running over, she would often call me on the intercom and suggest that, "Don't you think this has gone on a little too long?" Then it was my responsibility to step in and somehow as diplomatically as possible interrupt the meeting and make certain that things moved forward.

We were pretty good. Very seldom, and some days we kept exactly on schedule. Other days we were maybe 10 to 15 minutes off.

DR. CRAWFORD: Can you give a format of an average meeting with the Governor? Was there a specific exchange of pleasantries determining what the person wanted, period of discussion and then normally some resolution or at least some recommendation?

MR. KABEL: That's really generally the pattern. He is such a friendly man. I never saw him usher someone into his office without spending at least a minute or two exchanging pleasantries and more or less setting a tone of friendly, open sort of atmosphere in his office. He was excellent at placing people at ease I think. A lot of people were considerate of his time. And they would say, "Governor, we know you are busy. We have come for this reason." They would state the purpose for which they were there and get some explanations, and the Governor would respond, and very seldom were decisions made right there.

Unless there was a commissioner present, often he would assign me or whoever on the staff was sitting in the meeting--we always would have a member of his staff present except in a few instances where they were personal friends from home. Some legislators did not want other staff in presence. I'd say almost 99% of the time he had another staff person in. The real reason for that was so that someone could not leave his office and say that the Governor promised to do such and so when in fact he had not, therefore, he had a witness. That was just sort of an underlying reason. We never had to use that, that I can recall--maybe on a couple of occasions. The other is that he could assign that staff person on the spot some responsibilities that both he and the person who has the appointment knows what he has asked them to do. That was our responsibility as staff to either advise the Governor so that he could call the person or for us to check into it and he would call that individual again.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, the staff member who was present would normally make some sort of notation of any promise the Governor had made or any responsibility to be undertaken?

MR. KABEL: At one point we had appointment sheets that would be typed every evening for the next day's appointments. They could be used for notes. I think we discontinued those after a time because we found each staffer really had his own individual way of keeping track. I know myself I

don't think from the time I arrived and until the time I went home in the evening I was ever without my yellow legal pad--something of a security blanket that I always had, his schedule which was distributed daily to the staff--attached to that. That was my way of keeping notes and keeping tabs on what needed to be done that day.

The Governor, unless he had a speaking engagement or was having lunch with someone--in a private sort of situation--he did not like to go out to lunch. The whole staff would often have lunch in the capitol. There were a number of places around Nashville that would order sandwiches and whatever. He found it difficult to go into downtown Nashville to a restaurant. I was with him on several occasions when he would try.

DR. CRAWFORD: And he would have too many interruptions?

MR. KABEL: The staff would get to eat, but the Governor wouldn't because people would be coming up and talking with him and he was so courteous that he simply would not sit down and eat while somebody was talking with him. It was very difficult for him so that was a rare event when he would go to lunch anywhere outside of the office unless it was prearranged at the mansion or in some one else's office for example. Those are the kind of problems that a Governor as popular as he was and friendly as he was had to contend with. It is difficult to get in the public without having all of your time absorbed by people coming up and talking with you.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did he use the lunch period as a break from his work activities or did he normally try to meet people during lunch?

MR. KABEL: Well, he would, while he was having lunch, be invariably interrupted by phone calls or by staff people. He never objected to being interrupted. Often he would have luncheon meetings with staff and sit around a coffee table and everyone would be having his or her lunch and just proceed talking about whatever needed to be discussed.

As far as phone calls are concerned, we logged in every phone call that came into the Governor's office. He did a very good job of returning phone calls. Four days out of five he was in the office, we managed to set aside a half an hour or 45 minutes for him in the early afternoon to return phone calls. A lot of phone calls were referred to other staff people, but he did a substantial portion of those phone calls himself.

DR. CRAWFORD: Mr. Kabel, our time is getting a bit short. What other things do you remember that would be particularly useful in understanding Winfield Dunn as a person and as a leader?

MR. KABEL: I think in my own mind, despite the fact that I have pointed out some problems that I think he had as an administrator and, of course, the Governor is the chief executive officer of the state. Therefore, you can assume that if he is really not that good as an administrator

in the final analysis is he going to be a very good governor? I don't think that is true at all. I think from my own perspective there is a theory [as to] what makes a good Governor or what makes a good President. And it seems to me that a governor can acquire good administrators--and he had some very good administrators working for him--who could handle the bulk of the problems throughout the administration. The real asset to me of a Governor, and I think Governor Dunn exemplified this to me, as well as anyone could, is that he can provide a tone to the government, he can provide vision, and he provided assurance to state employees and to his constituents that problems can be resolved at the state level. He can provide a certain confidence both for himself and for his administration. You don't have to be a good administrator to do that.

DR. CRAWFORD: The Governor is a symbol as well as a
leader and a manager.

MR. KABEL: I think the better governors and better presidents are those individuals who can instill a certain type of spirit within his own staff and his own administration and within the population in general. Regardless of whether he is a good administrator, and I think Governor Dunn did that. I think that was his real strength.

DR. CRAWFORD: You felt then or you feel now that he
 was a Governor that people could be
proud of and respect and consider to be a person they wanted to be

their state governor?

MR. KABEL:

I think so without any question. While

I was associated with him, there was never any hint of any scandal. I'm sure that some other administrations wish they could say the same both in Tennessee and outside Tennessee, state level, local level, federal level. Most Tennesseans, I think, were proud of the fact that he was their Governor. If you could, as I did, see him at governor's meetings, he was very well respected among his colleagues, his fellow peers. They listened to him and they respected him. As a result he was on the Board of the National Governor's Conference. He was Chairman of the Republican Governor's Association. Tennesseans not even one day had anything to be ashamed of during this administration.

HECKMAN
BINDERY INC.



OCT 88

N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA 46962

